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REPORT NO.

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SUPPLEMENT TO  
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1. Q. What, in your opinion, should US policy be with reference to political self-determination? What is the fair, democratic solution to the "nationalities problem?"
  - A. In event of war, people of the Caucasus and Central Asia will seek complete independence; less so in the Ukraine and still less in Byelo-Russia. But the Caucasus is indispensable to a healthy USSR because of the oil; the Ukraine is an indispensable source of bread; and Siberia is a source of steel. Without these the USSR would be a third-rate power. This would add up to Rosenberg's China and if the Soviets thought this was an objective they would fight as they did against the Nazis.

Finland and the Baltic countries, however, are special cases, and should be considered in the light of historical facts. Finland's geographic position has always threatened Leningrad and Peter the Great fought to gain access to the Baltic, not to take the Baltic Countries. The same applies to the wars with Turkey for an outlet through the Straits. There is no genuine Great Russian demand for the Baltic States as such, but only for an outlet to the sea. Stalin's absorption of the Baltic States was a defensive move to push out the buffer against the German attack which was certain to come.
2. Q. What about the fact that there have been wholesale deportations from the Baltic especially Lithuania and that very few of the original population now remain?
  - A. In Stalin's Questions of Leninism he states that to be a Union Republic a region must have a minimum of three million people and various qualifications. The 1936 Constitution guarantees the right to secede, etc. But, Stalin, with the other hand, has removed the population, etc, so that the Baltic States, Caucasus, etc, can no longer meet these qualifications.
3. Q. With the war over what should we do?
  - A. First a plebiscite -- the result would be a foregone conclusion.

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25X1

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25X1

-2-

25X1A

4. Q. Should we bring the original people back?
- A. You can't turn the clock of history back. Those who wanted to return would drift back when they gained freedom of movement. Federation such as the US form is the only answer. If the basic freedoms are guaranteed the problem would not be acute. One must remember that the Soviet Empire was won at great cost and that the RSFSR could not exist alone and that a fracturing policy would create another Great Patriotic War. The basic element is still the Great Russian. Credibility and trust must be built up and maintained by deeds and by clear framework of policy and a fixed program carried out. This was Hitler's mistake -- putting immediate colonization into effect.
5. Q. What is the meaning in application of the formula, "Nationalist in Form - Socialist in Content"? What should replace it?
- A. The purpose of the formula is to assure strict ideological control along Communist lines. At the end of the war the nationalities should have real cultural autonomy.
6. Q. Should the formula be - "Nationalist in form - Federalist in content"?
- A. I really do not understand the federal concept; as far as I can see, the USSR already is a federated republic. There should be a return to the pre-revolutionary status.
7. Q. But wouldn't this mean a speed-up of Russification, which was taking place before the revolution?
- A. What? There was a policy of forced Russification then? That's not what I learned.
8. Q. Should we say that "Culture should be nationalist in form and completely free"?
- A. "Socialist in content" in practice means culture by command - directed from Moscow, which is resented by the local ethnic groups.
9. Q. Should the US program propagandize the idea that local cultures are now free to develop as they please.
- A. Yes. There should be no control or direction of local cultures other than encouragement to let them develop freely.
10. Q. What is the difference between propaganda and agitation? The role of each? Examples? Should the agitator be retained?
- A. Emphatically no - the agitator should go, except in the Liberation Army for indoctrination and training and initial stages. The people are fed up with continuous agitation meetings which they are forced to attend. People resent this steady encroachment on their private lives. The best solution would be to have a completely free press and radio without any captive audience or forced listening practice.
11. Q. How does the truth get around underneath the mass of propaganda? How can techniques be developed to get news and ideas to the people?
- A. The best agitator is the populace itself inside the USSR itself. Important events are known within five days thousands of kilometers away. For example, when the Germans entered the Baltic Countries their policy was to behave correctly and distribute goods taken from Soviet warehouses. This news, although naturally not in the press or on the radio, spread across the front several hundred kilometers. The same thing happened in reverse with their atrocities in the Ukraine. The best psychological-warfare technique is to have a just, humane policy and let the people themselves spread the word. This they will do in any case. Therefore, the policy must be a wise one.

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25X1

-3-

25X1A

12. Q. Were any of the "German" atrocities actually staged by NKVD agents or provocateurs?

A. An important question. Provocation was used extensively. People knew that the atrocities had been committed, but they didn't know who did them. I know that the MGB would burn an entire village, say nothing about it, and let the word get around with the blame falling on the Germans. I am much concerned about the hate-campaign currently going on and the probability that the MGB would commit atrocities in US uniform and place the blame on the Americans.

13. Q. What, in your opinion, should US policy be with regard to the restoration of religious freedom?

A. Of course, complete religious freedom must be promised. The religious issue has been important since the days of the German advance. Stalin's change of policy then was worth several well-armed divisions. Considerable popular support was gained thereby. Religion is especially important to the Great Russian people.

14. Q. Was Stalin's change of policy due to increasing age?

A. It was due neither to early education in a seminary nor to change of heart due to age. The change was purely a political trick to win the support of older age groups. The church today has been taken over by the MGB and serves as a barometer to gauge public opinion, an historic role of the church. MGB agents serve as priests.

15. Q. What about religious superstitions and prevalence of superstitions in general?

A. There are a large number of prevalent superstitions, many of which have a religious basis, such as not whistling since it was believed that a part of the soul escapes this way.

16. Q. What about use or value of religious medals to be worn personally?

A. I have never attended a religious service and have visited churches only as museums. The role of religion is of very little importance except as an instrument of the MGB. I visited Kazan and St Isaacs in Leningrad as architectural museums. No CP or Komsomol member is permitted to take an active part in religious activities. Youths would wear holy medals in secret to avoid the ridicule of their friends. Legends about miracles are widespread but people don't flock to them. A supply of crosses and religious icons is neither important or necessary. They are sold in Kiev on the Red Square. The church has cut itself off from the masses of the people by accepting support of the state. MVD agents report on what the people are saying; they take the pulse of the people.

17. Q. Is there an expression, saying, sign, etc., which when said or printed in a public gathering will, of itself, produce terror within the group?

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25X1X A. Yes, in a way. [ ] in 1943, [ ]  
25X1X [ ] someone, in an imitation of a child's scrawl, wrote "Down with Stalin". There was a great to do about this "extraordinary incident", the MVD, the MGB, etc., were called in and searching investigations were made.

18. Q. What about breaking into broadcasts at the breaks with "Stalin - the son-of-a-bitch!?"

A. I think the effect would be excellent - as a matter of fact the BBC has been doing this with great effectiveness. Counter measures, however, have been taken, i e, the broadcast is turned off at once and then resumed later.

19. Q. What about the effectiveness of slogans now as compared with 1943?

A. Much more effective as people are disillusioned after wartime promises.

20. Q. What about disappearance of Cominform leaders - 8 of 12 in four years? ... and of other top leaders? ... Would the slogan, "Who's next" be of value?

A. All high functionaries take disappearance as an occupational hazard. It is assumed, from soft-peddling in the press prior to his death, that Dimitrov was poisoned. The same with Zhdanov and Kirov, who was becoming too popular.

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21. Q. How ready are the masses to take an active part in resistance slogans?

A. The people are ready, but would the suffering, sacrifices, arrests, etc, be worth it? A less dangerous device would be the use of letters to the general public since these are only spot-checked and would not cause widespread arrests. The addressee would be interrogated, etc, but they would not wipe out the individual immediately.

22. Q. What about planted letters? 25X1X

A. Yes. [ ] a letter was sent from the US to a friend who was on leave at a resort. The military censor seized it. The man, who had an excellent record for over 20 years, was stripped of his rank, lost his CP card and was finished.

23. Q. What about letters from satellites?

A. The satellites are the same as the USSR. The effect would be much greater with letters from "abroad" - US, England, etc.

24. Q. Would the letters arrive or would they be recognized as plants?

A. They might arrive, but they would have to come from genuinely known people with records who were reported killed in action, who disappeared as DP's, etc, or who have genuine relatives in the USSR.

25. Q. What about a letter to Vishinsky from a supposed contact in the US?

A. Impossible. Such people are so closely surrounded that all their contacts are well known and such a letter would be recognized as a "plant" at once and would thus be discounted entirely.

26. Q. Have you ever heard of the Vlassov Manifesto?

25X1X A. Yes, [ ] although I had heard vaguely of the Vlassov movement. As far as slogans are concerned, I would favor the use of Vlassov slogans.

27. Q. What do you think of abolishing collectives and restoring private ownership of land as a plank of the US program in case of war?

A. Absolutely fundamental - kolkhozes must be liquidated, but the program must be put across and then carried through.

28. Q. Should the old Leninist slogan, "Land to peasants" be used?

A. No. The slogan "Down with" or "Liquidate the kolkhozes" should be used and the point made clear that individual land ownership would follow. The old slogan "Land to the people" came to mean "Land to the government - the Communist Party". Slogans should be couched in destructive terms, e.g, "Destroy the kolkhozes", "Smash the labor unions." The decisive question which enabled the Bolsheviks to overthrow the Czarist regime was land ownership. The land occupied must be turned over at once to prove that the program is not propaganda. All land distribution measures must be firm and the policy clear. Deeds to land must be distributed and tractors and tools bought on the installment plan, no outright gifts. Propaganda specialists must exploit all deeds by the fullest publicity so that US deeds reach the common people. Formula: The US must reach not intellectuals but the common people - Promise - Fulfillment and Propaganda Exploitation. There must be fairness and equal treatment to all, and Jewish Americans must be excluded, due to bitter anti-Semitism.

29. Q. How would you distribute land on a given kolkhoz?

A. I wouldn't let the village council, elected by the village itself, assume the responsibility for distribution of land under the general principle announced. Then any blame would not reflect on the US. This pattern should be repeated on a local and regional level.

30. Q. Should there be a Communist on the council - what then?

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-5-

- A. The question is naive. The people can distinguish between Communists. If they elect one it would be because they feel he would serve their best interests. The initial responsibility of the occupying forces would be to supervise and assure free elections, maintain order and give advice, i e, direction and help. There must be a fairly strong central government. The Russian people must be protected from their own good will.

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